A Friendly
DIALOGUE
BETWEEN

B. T. 1. 589

A LIVERY-MAN
AND
A FREEMAN
OF THE
City of LONDON.

BODLEIANA · BIBLIOTHECA

CONCERNING

The late Proceedings at *Guild-Hall*, in the Election of Sheriffs, and other Officers, for the Year ensuing.

By a true and most sincere Well-wisher to the Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity of this most Antient and Renowned Corporation, and to all the Members and Inhabitants thereof.

BEATI PACIFICI.

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A DIALOGUE.

BETWEEN

A Livery-Man and a *Freeman*, &c.

Livery-Man. WEll met, Brother Citizen, I am heartily glad to see you. But pray how have you done since Midsummer-Day last? For then I saw you in the Common Hall very busie, and warmly engaged with some sort of Men about the Election of Sheriffs, and of the power of the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, *&c.* as if you had been as good a Livery-Man as the best of them all, tho' you had no Right to be there.

Freeman. Brother Citizen (and Mr. *Livery-man*) my good Friend and long Acquaintance, I shall deal frankly and freely with you, as to this Affair, in regard I am satisfied I shall receive no damage from such an intimate and good Friend as you have been to me, whom by experience I have known to be such above Thirty years; and therefore to tell you the Naked Truth, (I must confess) I was there, and am constantly there at such Publick Elections; and tho' there is always Proclamation made, That all you that are not of the Livery must depart the Hall upon pain of imprisonment, yet I still stand my ground, (tho' many times well crouded for my pains) and love to stand up stiffly for the Rights and Liberties

of the Citizens of *London*, in regard I am one my ſelf, tho' not ſo well qualified as you with a Pudding at your Back, as I have often ſeen you on a Lord-Mayors-Day.

Livery-m. But Brother Citizen, Suppoſe you ſhould be caught in the Crowd, and ſent to *Lobb*'s Pound for your pains, and a Fine ſet upon your head for daring to appear among us, when you have not the leaſt pretence to be there, as being not qualified for that Numerous and Grand Aſſembly?

Freem. Truly Sir, you may well call it a Numerous and Grand Aſſembly, but I preſume you may thank us Freemen for the honour we do you to make you ſo. For my part, ſince I have uſed to be at the Hall, I have ſeen but very few Livery-men there; and tho' there was particular Order on Midſummer day, from my Lord-Mayor (to prevent us from coming in for the future) that they muſt the next Summons appear in their decent and antient Formalities, in their Livery-Gowns, yet it was not obſerved among your ſelves, and we got in with the Crowd, notwithſtanding my Lord-Mayor's Order: And as to any danger of being ſent to *Lobb*'s Pound, I will run the riſque of that, until you ſhall contrive ſome better way and method to keep us out; and I do as much ſervice in the Hall, by aiding, aſſiſting, and abetting for our good Friends, as if I had been a Livery-Man this twenty years.

Livery-m. Well I hope in time we ſhall take ſuch meaſures as ſhall do your buſineſs effectually. But pray my Friend, now tell me what Party you were for in the Hall; for in my obſervation there was a great Party which were reputed all as Brethren of one ſtamp, yet were very hot and violent one againſt the other: So that there was (as ſome call you) *Whig* againſt *Whig*, and the *Tory* Party, as they are called, (very bad Names of Diſtinction, to ſet us in time altogether by the Ears) in the mean time laughing in their Sleeves, to ſee you

fall

fall out, and they cry out, *Fight Dog, fight Bear, and let Old Nick part you*: and this was Sport alone to that ſort of Livery-men: And there was ſuch a great Noiſe and Confuſion in the Hall about the Sheriffs and Chamberlain, that no man can foreſee what will be the Conſequence of ſuch proceedings, which I was heartily ſorry to ſee: For conteſting with the Lord-Mayor and Court of Aldermen at this preſent Conjunction, now his Majeſty is abſent (and is fighting our Battles for us) was not well timed; and how many is there at this day, that watch for ſuch an opportunity, to blow the Coals of Diſſention among us: though I hope all their Expectation will be Fruſtrated. And if it pleaſe the Divine Providence to give good Succeſs to his Majeſty's Forces, both by Sea and Land, at his Return I do really believe, for my part, he will reſtore unto us all our Rights and Liberties whatſoever (as we can modeſtly claim) in as full and more ample manner (without Reſerve) as any of the Kings and Queens of *England* have done before him.

Free-man. Well, I hope he will; for if after the Expence of ſo much Blood and Treaſure, to make us a free People, and to ſave us from *Popery* and Slavery (and the *Gallican* Yoke, worſe than the *Egyptian* Bondage) he ſhould not, alas! we ſhould then be in a far worſe Condition than before; but *Dum Spiro Spero.*

Livery-man. Well, you ſpeak ſomething feelingly. But as to the laſt Queſtion, Let me know what party of Livery-men did you take, in that warm Combuſtion?

Free-man. My Friend, 'tis true, there was ſome kind of noiſe in the Hall, (I muſt confeſs) more than uſual, but you know it was Midſummer-Moon, and there ought to be ſome Grains of Allowance for that; but for my part, I was clearly for that party of the Livery-men (though ſome give us the Nickname

Nickname of *Whiggs*) in oppoſition to my Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council-men, in Common-Council aſſembled, being informed by my very good Friends, the Sheriff-makers, (men of great Parts and Abilities in the Knowledge of our true Rights and Privileges) that the Livery-men of the City of *London*, are above all theſe Great Men; which they have made out in a late printed Paper, (which I hope you have ſeen) to the great Content and Satisfaction of all our Friends; and therefore we will not now tamely conform to any of their By-Laws by them made, unleſs firſt confirmed by us in our Common-Hall, that grand and numerous Aſſembly, as you before intimated.

Livery-man. In good earneſt, my Friend, I perceive you begin to be very warm, and much concerned for that party, whoſe Proceedings you did eſpouſe: But pray inform me, how came the Livery-men, and not all the Free-men of the City of *London*, either by themſelves or their Deputies, to have this great Power to controul my Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council-men, in Common-Council aſſembled, in all their Acts and By-Laws, unleſs they firſt take their Approbation along with them.

Free-man. Sir, I will tell you that in ſhort; our Friends inform me, That we Free-men, being ſummoned altogether to chuſe Officers, and finding our Company to be numerous, and began to be very tumultuous and troubleſome (as you ſay we were laſt *Midſummer*-Day) we did then in the Common-Hall, make an Act to reduce the Electors of our ſaid Officers, to the Liveries of the ſeveral Companies of *London*; and this way of Choice hath continued (as they tell me) about 200 Years.

Livery-man. My Friend, if this be true, as you now alledge, truly then it was Midſummer Moon indeed, to give the

the Power of Electing your Officers out of your own Hands, into the Hands of a mixt Multitude of unknown Persons, and not rather to have made the Act at that time to a certain Number of discreet Persons of every Ward, chosen by your selves, to be sent to *Guild-Hall* as your Deputies and Representatives for the Election of your Officers; this would have been according to your Original Rights and Liberties, long before any Charters were granted unto you.

Free-man. My Dear Friend, I thank you for this Hint: For surely had I lived in those days, I should not have been so weak in my understanding, as to have given away my Birthright from my self, into the Hands of others, and not to have a Vote in the Choice of them at all times, (but especially once a Year) this certainly no man would do, that had any Brains in his Head, unless he had a mind to be put into *Poor Robin*'s Almanack for an *Ignoramus*.

Livery-man. Therefore I presume your Friends do impose upon you, in telling you, it was an Act of the Common Hall: I believe rather, it was an Act of the Common Council in those Days (as some do positively affirm) in the 15th. Year of *Edward* the 4th. who invested the Livery-men with that Power: And I dare say, your Friends cannot produce any Act of the Common Hall of all the Free-men of the City to give that great Power to the Livery-men, upon which our Lives, Liberties and Estates do so much depend.

Free-man. Well then, let it be done by either party, it is all one to me, for now I begin to have other Sentiments, than I had before: since you tell me of our Ancient Fundamental Rights and Liberties, it doth so raise my Intellectual and Superior Faculties to that Altitude, that I am now so transported, and have such Commotions within my Breast, that I must ask you this Question immediately, which I did not

think

think on before; May not the ſame Power that created theſe Topping Livery-men, uncreate them again?

Livery-man. To give you a direct Anſwer to your Queſtion, Sir, I am of an Opinion they may. For certainly all Legiſlators have a power to Repeal the ſame Laws they make, when upon mature deliberation they are ſatisfied that they are become Grievances and Offences to the People, for whoſe Eaſe and Welfare they were firſt inſtituted, but more eſpecially when the Electors themſelves ſhall be turbulent, tumultuous and head-ſtrong, and ſpeak Evil of thoſe Dignities which they ſay themſelves did ſet up.

Freeman. Sir, I thank you for the Information you gave me, and for my part, I had rather truſt a good honeſt Neighbour of my own, in my own Precinct, that I do very well know, (and one that our Neighbours have a kindneſs and reſpect for) to Vote for me in the Common Hall, than any of the Companies Liveries, whoſe Faces I know not; and beſides, theſe Emphatical Words of Electing by my Self, or Deputy, ſounds like a good honeſt old Engliſh Expreſſion; and I am for honeſt Old *England* with all my Heart, and for all the Rights and Liberties that to her Inhabitants do belong, and therefore you have brought me over to be for the Freemen, and ſhall not take part with the Livery-men any more, unleſs they give me ſome better Satisfaction as to their Power and Authority; and alſo, as to their Proceedings in the Common Hall for the future; for in good earneſt, they are very hot, and not of the Temper as is requiſite for ſo grave and venerable an Aſſembly. But, *Sir*, You being a Livery-man, and of a long ſtanding, pray tell me your Opinion of them, as to their preſent Conſtitution, Power and Authority to chuſe our Great Officers; for I am fully ſatisfied it is of great Concern, Honour and Truſt.

Livery-man.

Liveryman. To deal plainly with you, though I have been a Livery-man for many Years, yet I did never look upon them to be the true Repreſentative Body of all the Citizens of the City of *London*, in regard we are not choſen in our ſeveral Wards, as the Aldermen and Council-men are at this Day, which are a true Repreſentative of all the Freemen, as being choſen by themſelves. And if the Common Council-men of the City of *London* in thoſe days, did make the aforementioned Act, to debar the Freemen in their ſeveral Wards, of their Fundamental Rights and Priviledges, to me it ſeems very ſtrange: But till they ſhall pleaſe to Repeal that Act, we muſt be contented, in as much as we ſent them to *Guild-Hall*, to make ſuch By-Laws for us, as they in their great Wiſdoms ſhould think proper and convenient, for the Good Government and benefit of the whole Corporation.

Freeman. But ſince they are ſuch wiſe Men (as you ſeem to intimate) pray how came they to make ſuch an untoward Tory kind of Act againſt the Freemen?

Liveryman. Well Sir, I will give you the beſt ſatisfaction I can in that particular, and will tell you my thoughts concerning it. You muſt take notice that it was made many Years ſince, and in the Popiſh times, when the Name of *Roundhead* and *Cavalier*, *Whig*, *Tory*, and *Trimmer*, was not known in the World; and they were all of a peice, and did love one another far better than we Proteſtants (to our ſhame be it ſpoken) do at this day: And the *Liverymen* of *London* were but few in Number, to what they are now; and thoſe that were choſen, were all Grave and Antient Men, (as you ſee the Antient Pictures of them in many Houſes, do repreſent, being in their Fur Gowns and Ruffs) and none then choſen, to be ſent to *Guild-Hall* to ſerve a Turn, and to Vote Right, as it is too apparent it is among all the Conteſting and Divided Parties a-

mong us in the reſpectives Companies, and this is like to continue *ad infinitum*, (at leaſt ſo long as our Diviſions continue) againſt one another: And no Man can forſee who ſhall have the benefit at laſt, of that Old Motto, *Divide & Empera*; I wiſh we were all truly ſenſible and affected with the thoughts thereof. But to proceed, They did in thoſe Days uſually chuſe him for their Lord Mayor, as was next the Chair (unleſs they continued the old One, which many times they did for ſeveral Years, as appears upon Record) and no thoughts of paſſing by any Man for fear of his deſtroying their Rights and Liberties, when he came to be their Chief Magiſtrate: And though they were Papiſts, they were then as Zealous and as Jealous, for their common Rights and Liberties, as we can be for our Lives, (Witneſs the Barons Warrs) for the which, they are handed down to Poſterity (by the Pens Militant) as great *Patriots* for their Country, I wiſh we were all of the ſame Mind, though not of the ſame Perſwaſion, in matters of Religion; which came to them purely by Education, and not by Election, wherein every Man ought to chuſe for himſelf; becauſe every Man muſt anſwer for himſelf (and not for another) at the Univerſal Audit. And now we may ſo far Vindicate the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, and Common Council-Men in Common Council Aſſembled, in making that Act in thoſe peaceable times, as to the Spirit and Tempers of Men, from what they are now, as that they did think, they did the Citizens a great kindneſs, in meeting every Year in their ſeveral Wards, to ſend their Deputes to *Guild-Hall*, they would now ſave them that trouble; which was the undoubted way of the Freemens Election, long before this Act of Liveries took place, which I can make appear as clear as the Sun at Noon-day, by many Antient Records, if there be occaſion.

Free-

Freeman. Very well, this is ſome pretty handſome Apology for that Act, as to them that made it; but by the way, there is one thing now comes in my Head, which is this, Suppoſe theſe Liveries ſhould be laid aſide, and ſome new Meaſures taken to prevent theſe Popular and Tumultuous Elections, will not theſe Livery-men Huff and Bounce, Complain, and make a Noiſe, and tell you that they gave a great deal of Money for being choſen upon the Livery? And now to be debarred their Rights in Election of our Officers, this they will tell you, looks ſomething like the impoſition of Popery, and Slavery, and Arbitrary Government. Pray give me ſome Satisfaction in this point, if at any time I ſhould hear it rounded in my Ears by any of them.

Livery-man. As to this point, I am glad you have Started it; for it is a very material one, whereby to ſtop the Mouths of many Grumbletonians (as we have too too many among us at this preſent Conjuncture, and of ſeveral Sorts, and of ſeveral Denominations, the more is our ſhame, and the more is the pitty) Pray ask any Livery-man of them all, when he paid his Fine to the Company, for being brought upon the Livery, Whether the Maſter and Wardens by that Act did, or could give him any Power or Authority to be an Elector at *Guild-Hall*? But it was the grace and favour of the Lord Mayor, and Court of Aldermen, and Common Council, in Common Council Aſſembled, that confer'd that honour upon him, and not the Company, who can make no Laws but only for their own Corporation, and his Fine is for the better Maintenance and Support of the Company, unto which he is Sworn when he is made free; to obſerve all the By-Laws which they ſhall make, for, or concerning the Weal, well ordering, Rule and Government of the ſaid Fraternity.

Free-

Freeman. Very well, then it ſeems they have no Title from their *Halls* to be Electors, but only from the grace and favour of the Lord Mayor, and Court of Aldermen, and Common Council-men, who made that Act in their behalf; ſo that I hope I ſhall ſtop all their Mouths, if they make a noiſe Tom, to the diſturbance of the publicke Peace, if ſome other Meaſures ſhould be taken upon this account.

Liveryman. Well, now I hope you are pretty well Satisfied, as concerning the Premiſes.

Freeman. Oh my good Friend! You are very much miſtaken, if you think I am Satisfied in my preſent ſtate; for as you have informed me of ſuch great things, which are of ſuch great concernment (as you know great Weights move but ſlowly) I would now be informed and ſatisfied, how theſe great and mighty things (which are of ſuch abſolute and neceſſary concernment to our ſelves and our poſterity) ſhall be accompliſhed; and if you can pleaſe me here, and give me ſome eaſe in this point; for I am now in a longing condition, as ever any Woman was, when great with Child, you ſhall for ever oblige me to be your particular Friend and Servant, for ever and for ever, *Amen.*

Liveryman. Why Sir, though they are great things, and of great concernment to us all, yet they are not ſo great, but with much facility may be accompliſhed, provided we will take but right Meaſures.

Freeman. Oh thoſe meaſures, thoſe meaſures, pray do not keep me too long in ſuſpence about them, for I cannot have any ſatisfaction in my mind, until you have Imparted them to me; and if they turn to account, *Eris mihi Magnus Apollo.*

Liveryman. I ſee now Sir, you are more warm and zealous for the Freemen, then you were but even now for the Liverymen; and if your Friends, whoſe cauſe you did expouſe, had been

been of the ſame mind as you now are, and had not fallen ſo hot upon Sheriffs, and their Fines, I preſume they had got more Proſelites on their Side ten to one, then they are like to get by their late Tranſactions and Proceedings.

Freeman. In truth Sir, I believe no leſs, and perhaps by our preſent diſcourſe, many of them may fall in with us; for I my ſelf know now more then I did before, and I hope in a ſhort time they will be in a more Sedate and Calm Temper, then they have been hitherto (many of them being very honeſt and true Engliſh men) but being ſo far tranſported in their warm debates in the common *Hall*, it may be imputed to zeal without knowledge, and for want of better information: Come let us be Charitable in our cenſures of them upon that account; but pray Sir, put me out of pain, as to thoſe meaſures, thoſe meaſures you even now Intimated.

Livery-man. Why then Sir, in Obedience to your requeſt, I will ſpeak Freely and Franckly to you, upon this great Point, *viz.* That by reaſon of the late Combuſtions and Contentions at *Guild-Hall*, in the Election of Sheriffs, and other Officers for the City of *London* and County of *Middleſex*, for the Year enſuing, You have now a very fair and pertinent occaſion preſents it ſelf, for the Recovery and Reſtoring of your Antient Rights and Liberties; which for ſo many Years laſt paſt, have been taken from you (as is preſumed) without your own conſent, and the meaſure you are now to take, muſt be (though in very Decent and Orderly manner, and not like the late proceedings by Noiſe and Clamor) by way of an Humble Petition to the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen and common Council-men in common Council Aſſembled, who have the only power, next to the Grand Council of the Nation, now to Relieve you; and peradventure the Court may be very much inclined, at this preſent conjuncture of Affairs, to

hearken to your Petition, and eſpecially ſince it will come to them from the hands of many thouſands Worthy Citizens, both Livery-men and Freemen, as will be ready and willing to Subſcribe the ſame.

Free-man. Well my moſt Cordial Friend, I am now very well pleaſed, and fully ſatisfied, with the Meaſures and Method which you have propoſed for the Recovery of our Antient and Fundamental Rights, which I believe according to *Magna Charta*, no power upon Earth ought to take away from us. But ſometimes the longeſt Sword (where *Inter Arma, Silent Leges*) hath done it, and will do it in Spight of our Teeth: And we muſt ſubmit by paſſive obedience, and non-Reſiſtance untill we have a fair oportunity to recover our ſelves again; and as for our *City Charter*, that cannot be Forfeited by any diſuſe, or by any abuſe whatſoever; though the particular Members, for particular Crimes, may forfeit their Lives, Liberties and Eſtates, to His Majeſty; yet the *Charter* is in no danger, but remains firm and ſtable, (like a Houſe built upon a Rock) to us and to our Children, to all Poſterity.

Livery-man. I perceive now Sir, you can ſay ſomething to the purpoſe, I wiſh we had Ten Thouſand ſuch proſelites: I believe ſome of our Friends in the Court of Aldermen, would be willing to embrace them upon this account, and thoſe below the Chair will get Immortal Honour, and Renouned in being inſtrumental to have your Petition granted.

Free-man. Sir, as you have hitheto been ſo Courteous and Genteel, as to deny me nothing in what I have been willing to receive Satisfaction; there is one thing more which I muſt needs requeſt of you (and I dare ſay, you will not deny me) *viz.* That you would be pleaſed ſo far to oblige me, as to draw the form of the Petition for us, and then I will trouble you no more.

Livery

Livery-man, Sir, I muſt beg your Diverſion in that Point, for if I ſhould do it for you, I know many (in our divided and ſubdivided Age) would like it, and many diſlike it; and if it ſhould come to be known who was the Author, I ſhould then (in my preſent Circumſtances) peradventure, bring down an old Houſe upon my Head.

Free-man. Pray (My true Friend) Fear it not in the leaſt, for you are ſo well known, as to have univerſal Love, Charity, and Good-will to all Men, of all Perſwaſions, (that appear ſincere in their Profeſſions) that it is almoſt morally impoſſible that any party of men, of any Perſwaſion, ſhould take it unkindly from you, ſuppoſing your late Objection of being diſcovered.

Livery-man. Well, Sir, in regard of your Importunity, I will endeavour (according to my ſlender Ability) to grant this your laſt Requeſt, to draw the Form of a Petition for you, which you and your Friends may polliſh, and put into better Words and Phraſes than I can do, and alſo to contract the ſame if there be occaſion, after their Peruſal. And here it is, Pray read it.

To the Right Honourable the Lord-Mayor, and To the Right Worſhipful Aldermen, his Brethren, and Common Council-Men of the City of *London*, in Common Council Aſſembled.

The Humble Petition of the Free-Men of the City of London, *From their ſeveral Wards and Precincts in the ſaid City.*

Sheweth,

'THat whereas it was the Ancient Uſage and Cuſtom 'of all the Free-men of the City of *London*, either 'by themſelves or Deputies from the ſeveral Wards (and 'that long before any Charters were granted unto them, 'which were only Confirmations of their precedent Rights 'and Privileges) annually to Elect their Lord-Mayor, and 'other principal Officers, to ſerve them in their ſeveral Sta-'tions of great Honour and Truſt: A Privilege ſo advan-'tagious to this Great and Populous City, (*England*'s Me-'tropolis) as ought to be deemed of ineſtimable Value to all 'ſucceeding Ages and Generations, *and* whereon our Lives, 'Liberties and Eſtates do ſo much depend.

'But now ſo it is, (may it pleaſe Your good Lordſhip and 'Worſhips of this grave and venerable Aſſembly) That 'whereas the Livery-men of the ſeveral Companies of this 'City, for many Years laſt paſt, have been the Electors of the 'ſaid Officers, though by no means the Deputies of the 'Free-men, ſo fairly and equally choſen, as the Members of 'this Honourable Court are at this Day, and who are the

'Proper

'Proper and True Repreſentative Body of all the Free-men 'of the City of *London*: And whatſoever Acts they ſhall 'paſs into By-Laws, (as being in Common-Council aſſem-'bled) for the better Regulation, Decent Order and Good 'Government of the whole Corporation, it is the Free-mens 'Act and Deed, as choſen by themſelves; and thereupon (if 'they will be reputed peaceable and well govern'd Citizens) 'ſhould be contented, and reſt ſatisfied, and ought to ac-'quieſce in all their grave and prudent Determinations.

'But inaſmuch as there hath been of late Years, Feuds, 'Animoſities, and Contentions, in the Common Hall, 'among the Liveries of the ſeveral Companies in the choice 'of the ſaid Officers, in regard they are now grown ſo nu-'merous to what they were formerly, and many of them 'choſen (by the Intereſt of ſome prevailing Parties in the re-'ſpective Companies, according to the Complexion of the 'Maſters and Wardens) to ſerve a turn; and how many 'more they will chuſe, (in their preſent divided State, and 'as being limitted to no certain Number) no man can forc-'ſee.

'Your Petitioners being ſo much concerned herein, and 'ſo truly ſenſible of the dangerous and ill Conſequence (if not 'timely prevented) which may thence enſue, to the Diſtur-'bance not only of the publick Peace and Tranquility of this 'City in particular, but to the whole Nation in general; They 'could do leſs than eſteem it a Duty incumbent on them, to ex-'preſs their Reſentment of ſuch irregular and turbulent Proce-'dings; and thereupon have now made their Application to 'this Honourable Court, and moſt humbly pray, *viz.*

That whereas by a former Act of this Court, (though many years ſince, yet doubtleſs for ſome good Reaſons then ap-

pearing

appearing unto them) they were pleaſed to reduce the Electors of the aforeſaid Officers to the Livery-men of the reſpective Companies: That you would now be pleaſed in your great Wiſdoms (in regard of the preſent Circumſtances) to Repeal the ſame, and by a ſubſequent Act of this Court, reduce them again (like the Aldermen and Councilmen of this City) to a certain number, and thoſe to be choſen by all the Freemen of the City of London, *in their ſeveral Precincts, (which will be according to their Original and Fundamental Conſtitution) which may very commodiouſly and effectually be accompliſhed, and that to the Content and ſatisfaction of all unbyaſs'd Perſons, who are not bigotted to a Party, in manner and form as followeth: (But ſtill in all due ſubmiſſion to the Judgment of this Honourable Court.)*

'That upon the 25th day of *March* Annually (unleſs 'it fall out on a *Sunday*) or any other day that ſhall ap-'pear more convenient to this Court; All the Freemen of 'the City of *London*, in their ſeveral Precincts, ſhall meet at 'a certain convenient place in the ſaid Precinct, (the Common-'Council-Man of that Precinct to be then Chairman) and 'when ſo met, they ſhall then Elect and Chuſe two fitting 'and diſcreet Perſons among themſelves in the ſaid Precinct, 'to be ſent to *Guild-Hall*, (ſo often as ſummoned by the Lord 'Mayor) as their Deputy and Repreſentative in the Common-'Hall, for the ſaid Precinct, and in conjunction with the Com-'mon-Council-men for the time being, ſhall be impowered to 'chuſe Members of Parliament as there is occaſion, and all 'other Officers as are now choſen every year (for the City of '*London* and County of *Middleſex*) by the reſpective Live-'ries of each Company. And every Common-Council-man 'to make his Return of each Perſon ſo choſen, to the Alderman

'of

'of the Ward; and every Alderman to make his Return of the 'ſeveral Perſons ſo choſen in his Ward, to the Court of Alder-'men, at the next Court of Aldermen after ſuch Election '(Which Number will be enough in all Reaſon (being more in 'Number than the Members in Parliament) to Repreſent the 'whole Body of this moſt Renowned, Ancient, and Opulent 'Corporation, which God of his infinite Mercy and Goodneſs 'long preſerve in Peace, Plenty, and Profperity.)

And your Petitioners (as in duty obliged) ſhall for ever pray.

Freeman. Well, Sir, I give you my hearty Thanks for this trouble; and tho' the Petition be ſomewhat long, yet I like it very well, in regard it is *ad Rem*; and I hope it will do our buſineſs to all intents and purpoſes, and I hope to get Ten thouſand hands to it in a very ſhort time, if I could get a good honeſt Freeman out of every *Precinct* to go about his *Precinct* for Subſcriptions; and then I ſhould not vallue theſe Livery-Men a Ruſh, becauſe I can now make it appear to the very Faces of them, that they are built upon a very tottering, ſandy, and dangerous Foundation: And if you pleaſe to hear me, I will tell you wherein.

Livery-man. Pray Sir, then do; for I perceive you intend to be a Zealot in this new Expedition; and if you could but bring over Mr. *W.* and Mr. *W.* and Mr. *P.* and Mr. *K.* with ſome others that I could name, your work then, I preſume, would be the ſooner occompliſhed.

Freeman. Well, Sir, I will do what I can, and I hear there is one of our *W*'s come over to us already, and ſo *Good ſpeed the Plow*, to make a Univerſal Converſion.

Livery man. Tis true, Sir, that I have heard as much, but I can have no certain assurance of the Truth thereof, as to matter of Fact. But you are now gone off from the Text, wherein you say that these Livery-Men are built upon a sandy and dangerous Foundation, as if they had no certain assurance to preserve their Lives, Liberties and Estates to them and their Posterity, upon their present Constitution.

Freeman. Sir, I hope I shall make it out, (and I beg your pardon for my small Digression, in not giving you an Answer immediately) and it shall be by putting of a Case: Suppose that the major part of the Livery-Men chosen by the Master and Wardens of each Company should change to be Men of Complection, which are called by the nick-name of Tories, would not the *Whigs* then think themselves in danger of having Tory-Lord-Mayors, Tory-Sheriffs, and Tory-Juries, which may, as they have done formerly with a witness, hang them up by whole-sale, by way of *Inuendo*'s, and good brisk Evidence, tho' in the Eye of the Law they were guilty of no Crime; or else our Legislators were most grievously mistaken in Reversing their Judgments, and pronouncing them innocent, after the poor Gentlemen had lost their Lives? And so *e contra* on the other side, would not the *Tories* think themselves in danger of being much molested and troubled by that sort of Men, if they should chance to be always of the major part, for there can never be any certainty in the Number of either; but if we Citizens and Freemen must be always troubled, molested and disturbed by one of these Parties, is it not far better to chuse them our selves among our Neighbours, whom we may turn out the next year, if we do not like them, than these perpetual Dictators, whom we know not, and are chosen in for their lives? I dare appeal to any rational Men, tho' but of mean Understanding, to be Judge and Jury in this Case.

Livery-

Livery-men. Well, I perceive you are resolved to Study the Point, against you meet your old Friends at the *Coffee-House.*

Free-man. Yes yes, with some more of your Instructions when we meet again; and I will tell them also when I see them, that as to those Gentlemen who made the Common Council to make the Livery-men the Electors: There was not then so much danger in that Act as now; for they were then all of one Stamp, and all of one Perswasion inmatters of Religion, and they good honest well-meaning Men could not fore-see (nor the Freemen themselves, who then submitted to the said Act) of the Snake in the Grass, that should arise in after Ages & Generations, which we have seen and felt to some purpose in our Age, to the great Scandal, Shame, and Reproach, of the Professors of that most Pure, Peaceable, Gentle, and easy to be intreated; full of Mercy and good Works: The most Excellent and Divine Religion, Revealed to us from Heaven, by our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; And the truth of it is, by reason of our Manifold Divisions, Feuds Contentions, Animosities, Heart-burning, and the Spirits of Men raised to that most Inveterate hate of contemning and despising one another to the very Death, and that upon no other account, than a small difference in Judgment in matters of Religion, is such an astonishing and Melancholly consideration, as that we cannot fore-see (even the best of us all) how it will please the most High (in his Divine Providence) to deal with us for the future upon this very account: Oh tell it not in *Gath*! nor declare it in the Streets of *Askelon*; for this is a Lamentation, and will be for a Lamentation to us of this Generation, and I fear also (*Rebus Sic Stantibus*) to our Posterity. And now he that hath Ears to hear let him hear.

Livery-

Liveryman. Well my good Friend, I muſt now thank you for this laſt reſponſe; for I perceive by this, that you can diſcourſe like a Clergy-man as well as a State-Polititian, upon occaſion, and I am glad to hear you are ſo well improved in ſo ſhort a time; ſo that now you will need no Tutor to inſtruct and inform you for the future, but may be turned looſe to ſhift for your ſelf; for when Men come to Embrace moſt Generous & Noble Principles, for the univerſal good & benefit of the whole Creation (including all Mens intereſt, and no particular Party of Men in all their Tranſactions) they have then quite contrary Sentiments, and their Spirits, Powers, and Superiour Faculties are raiſed to that Sublimity of a pure and refined Underſtanding, as that they ſhall be able to bear down and baffle all their Oppoſers, as to the Right of the Caſe, and the Reaſon of the thing; as the Reverend Doctor *Whichcot*, when *Inter vivos* was uſed (good Man) frequently to expreſs in his Elaborate Sermons; and is now gon before us, to reap the benefit of his moſt *P*ious, Devout, and truly Chriſtian Labours.

Freeman. Ay, truly Sir, That Reverend Doctor was a very good Man indeed, and the Chriſtian Church had a very great Loſs (though his gain) in his Removal to the Angelical State in the other World: For as I am informed, he was for no impoſitions in matters of Religion; but that all *P*erſons, profeſſing Faith in God through Jeſus Chriſt, he would have had equally protected (a truly Noble and a truly Divine Chriſtian *P*rinciple, and one of his Encomiums at his Funeral Sermon, preached by the late Reverend Arch Biſhop of *Canterbury.*) And had all the reſt of his Brethren of the Clergy been of the ſame Sentiments, Lord; What a happy People, and what a happy Nation we might have been, long before now? But it ſeems we are not yet qualified

fied, (and at the Rate we ſtill go on, I fear never ſhall be) for ſo great a Bleſſing. O *England*, *England*, (the Paradiſe of the World) and the Inhabitants thereof; Remember, Remember into what a Low and Degenerate Eſtate and Condition thou art fallen, and yet will not conſider nor be made ſenſible, (by all the ſtupendious Mercies and Judgments you have been exerciſed with, for theſe many years laſt paſt) in the day of your Viſitation.

Livery-man. Very well obſerved, my very good Friend; and I hope at our next meeting, you will be able to give ſome account of your good ſucceſs and progreſs in this great Affair which we have now brought upon the Stage, and expoſed to publique View, for the uſe and benefit of all the Freemen, (and the Livery-men too, if they will but underſtand their true Intereſt,) of this great and populous City of *London*. And when you meet any of their great Champions and *Goliah*'s, at the *Amſterdam* Coffee-Houſe, who are ſo fond of, and depend ſo much upon, the preſent Eſtabliſhment, Power, and Authority of theſe preſent Livery-Men, which they give out, by a general Meeting of the whole Freemen in the Common-Hall Aſſembled, were made Electors to chuſe the aforeſaid Officers; which I cannot yet perſwade my ſelf that ever they were ſo void of Underſtanding in t heir Intellectual Faculties; but it was certainly done by an Act of Common-Council, as before hinted, in the 15th year of King *Edward* the Fourth. But to ſtrengthen your hands when you enter the Liſts with them, pray tell them, That the Common-Council in thoſe days had no power to debar and keep out all the Citizens but the Liveries, to come to the Elections, in regard ſuch an Act was quite contrary to their Natural and Fundamental Rights

Rights and Liberties, (which is and ought to be like the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, unalterable) long before any Charters were granted unto them, which were only Confirmations, and not Originals of their Primitive Inſtitution, but Declarative of their precedent Natural and Fundamental Rights and Priviledges. And moreover, The Common-Council-Men themſelves are but the Freemens Deputies, to make convenient By-Laws for them, for their Preſervation, and not for their Deſtruction; and therefore they ought to have Aſſerted, Vindicated and Eſtabliſhed the Ancient Fundamental Rights of the Citizens, to have choſen a Select Number among themſelves to have been the Electors, (which Act would have got them Immortal Honour and Renown, to all ſucceeding Generations) and and not theſe obſcure Livery-Men, who came in of late years, by a ſtrange kind of way, according to the Complection of the Maſter and Wardens, as in their ſeveral reſpective Companies they ſtand affected to this or that party, which either by Intereſt or by Education they have eſpouſed. But long before this Tory-Act came forth, it was the Uſual and Antient Cuſtom of the Citizens to chuſe the other way, but even now intimated: For in the 29th year of *Edward* the Firſt, it is ſaid, as by Antient Records do appear, That the Election of Mayor and Sheriffs was by a Select Number of Men choſen out of every Ward; At which time Sir *John Blunt* was ſo choſen Lord Mayor, and Mr. *Robert Collier* and Mr. *Peter Baſano*, were then choſen Sheriffs; and the ſaid Sir *John Blunt* was continued and choſen Mayor for ſeven years ſucceſſively in the ſame manner; (a Perſon ſurely well beloved of the Citizens, to continue him ſo long in that High and Honourable Station) I wiſh I could find but ſuch Men in our Days, the Electors would

would be very ready in the Common Hall to cry out, *Continuation, Continuation*, as you know ſome did the other day, *Stand to your Election, Stand to your former Election, &c.* It now grows late, let us go. *Vale.*

Freeman. My dear Friend, this is better and better, and you have now ſtrengthened my hands to the purpoſe. But inaſmuch as you began, you muſt give me leave to be the laſt in concluding our Friendly Dialogue; (for I am very unwilling to part with you, if the time would permit) And as to what I ſhall ſay more upon this Subject, in the firſt place it is, That I am heartily ſorry, and much concerned, that theſe Livery-men, and my Brother-Citizens, ſhould be ſo much at variance and contention, not only with each other, but alſo with the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, and Common-Council-men in Common-Council Aſſembled; and at this Juncture of time to be ſo ungovernable and head-ſtrong, which makes me apt to think that our Grand Council, the Wiſdom of the Nation, will take Cognizance of it at their next Seſſions; which if they do, I hope it will tend to their more quiet and peaceable Deportment for the time to come. And Sir, as you are a Livery-man (tho' contrary to your Intereſt, as may be preſumed, which is Generous and Genteel) have brought me over to my own Tribe of Freemen, ſo now I would, as a Freeman willingly convince theſe Livery Champions, and bring them over to our preſent Sentiments: And when I have an Opportunity, I will ask them a few Queſtions, one whereof, not to trouble you with any more at this time, ſhall be this: Suppoſe the City of *London* ſhould be Fin'd for ſome High Miſdemeanors, (as oftentimes they have) pray who muſt pay the ſaid Sum, the Livery-Men, or the

Citizens in general? It is a ſhort Queſtion, and let them anſwer it. We have a late Inſtance of Two Thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, which the Citizens muſt pay upon a High Miſdemeanour and Miſ-management with a witneſs, even for our Predeceſſors, in Expending the poor Orphans and Widows Money out of their Publick Treaſury, which they thought was a Sacred Bank, and no *Achans* among them, to be guilty of his Sacrilegious Crimes: I wiſh their Cries have not aſcended to Heaven, and thereby hath been one procuring Cauſe of our preſent Diſtractions.

And therefore how cautious and circumſpect ought we to be in the Choice of our Magiſtrates and Officers, whom we truſt for our Selves, and our Children after us, to be Men of Known Integrity and Uprightneſs, leaſt they ſhould run again (which GOD forbid) into the ſame Extream, when we have put the Power into their hands.

I inſtance this the rather, becauſe I would have our Citizens beware of ſuch Governours to have the Aſcendant among us, as to pleaſe their Superiours, will hang up Innocent Perſons at a very ſtrange rate, perhaps only for Vindicating and Aſſerting their own *Magna Charta* Rights and Liberties, and for ſtanding in the gap in Oppoſition to Popery and Slavery and Arbitrary Government, and being againſt an Illegal Diſpenſing Power in the Adminiſtration thereof; from ſuch Magiſtrates *Libera Nos Domine!* Aud let every True Engliſh Man ſay, *Amen Amen.*

But you know who we may thank for running that point of Diſpenſing Power ſo high, which I am perſwaded was one principal cauſe of the late Wonderful and Stupendious

dious, and I will yet hope, when we can all agree, Happy Revolution; and though they, poor blind Polititians, thought it morally Impoſſible to be ſtopped in their full Carreir; to whom therefore ſhould we aſcribe the Praiſe and the Glory, but to the Uncontroulable and Irreſiſtable Power of Infinite Goodneſs and Mercy; and for preventing among us ſuch Magiſtrates for the future, the only probable means is to Elect them according to the method propoſed to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen and Common Council-Men in Common Council Aſſembled, and is in the prayer of the ſaid Petition.

But to draw towards a Concluſion; there is one thing comes now into my mind which I will relate to you, if you pleaſe to hear me, and it is an obſervation of my own in my converſation with theſe our Friends, and it is this, That in regard theſe men of the Livery, who now ſo much jar among themſelves, are eſteemed all of a piece in ſome other Concerns, ſhould no better agree in this; and this makes the Obſervation more ſtrange and unaccountable; that when they were formerly under ſome Preſſures, the did often times wiſh, that if once they could but get a good honeſt Set of Aldermen, they ſhould be happy; and if after that they could but get a good honeſt Set of Common Council-Men to joyn with them, they ſhould be yet more happy; and though they are convinced and ſatisfyed that the major part of the Aldermen and Common Council-men at this day are their Friends, yet they cannot nor will not be Ruled by them, if they do not pleaſe them in every little nicity and punctillio as they ſhall deſire; and therefore what ſhall or can we ſay to theſe proceedings, but only *Monſtrum Horrendum*, &c. at the which every ſober and ſedate thinking man among us,

(who are of any improvement in their intellectuals) ought to be grieved and much concerned (if not ſurpriſed and aſtoniſhed) at the diſmal apprehenſion of the fatal and dreadful Conſequence thereof. *Vale.*

And now in the Cloſe of the whole, if you pleaſe to let me be your Leiutenant to bring up the *Rear*, I will here ſay ſomething in relation to their Sheriffs, which they have choſen, and by no means will permit them to Fine; which is their grand Complaint and Grievance this Year (though admitted and ſubmitted unto for many Years laſt paſt) and they give us a Notable and Remarkable inſtance, in their Printed Paper of Sir *Chriſtopher Lethuleier*, and Sir *John Houblan* (and this is their great *Goliah*'s Sword, wherewith he doth defy the Armies of *Iſrael*) but in anſwer thereunto, they may pleaſe to take notice that ſome do alledge, that in the Caſe they have not dealt ſo fairly, and upon the ſquare as they ought to have done; as Men Profeſſing to be under a purer Adminiſtration than the reſt of their Neighbours: For they ſay it is very well known that at the ſame time, many of theſe worthy Knight's particular Friends, did perſwade them to hold, and theſe Gentlemen, out of a Generous and Noble diſpoſition to oblige them (and in ſome meaſure to ſtop the then preſent Clamour) did take upon them the ſaid Offices, and were Sworn thereunto; and yet all this while, not that the Common *Hall* had any power to bind them (as their own Phraſe is) whether they would or no; and not to be looſed again for one Year, purſuant to that By-Law of Common Council, which is, and ought to be in force until repealed, as well as that very By-Law made by the ſame Power concerning the Liveries, which they have ſo tamely ſubmitted unto (though contra-

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ry to their own City *Charter*) for above Two Hundred Years; if now,

They Preſcription plead from Times of Yore;
Time makes not Wrongs to be leſs, but more.

George Withers.

And I dare appeal to any rational Man whatſoever, that is not of a particular Party, whether the Lord Mayor, and Court of Aldermen, in their more Grave and Serious Debates, are not more proper Judges in this caſe of Binding and Looſing, then a mixt Multitude of many Thouſand Perſons in the *Hall*, who come from all the Remote parts of the City at that time, and are under an utter impoſſibility of Underſtanding who are fit, and who are not fit to hold or Fine for the Year Enſuing; and for the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen to be debarr'd and loſe ſo conſiderable an advantage, and Revenue to the City of *London* (which in time, if we could have but Patience, and take care every Year to chuſe among our ſelves good Magiſtrates, fearing God, and hating Covetouſneſs; I queſtion not but in due time it will turn to a very good account) it is very ſtrange to me, that theſe Livery Gentlemen ſhould not be made ſenſible of the conveniency thereof; but to accompliſh their own deſigns, they have got a new way of *Chimiſtry* and *Philoſophy*, to Plant their Emiſſaries and printed Papers at the *Hall* doores, to manage the Electors before they come in: A very unfair way of the Sheriff-makers, to anticipate the Freedom and Liberty of any mans Vote in the *Hall*, by way of prejudice and prepoſſeſſion, a practice

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not heard of in former times, until we came to be Sunk down into that degenerate (or at this time ungenerate) Estate formerly hinted. If for Men to be Troublesome, Turbulent, Tumultuous, Hot-headed, Clamorous, Censorious, and Ungovernable, is not a mark and sign of Unregeneracy; Pray let them ask their own most Learned Casuistical Doctors to resolve the Case, who are able to furnish them with a plentiful Number (having always a good Stock by them) of Mark and Signs, to distinguish the Regenerate and Unregenerate, the Elect and Reprobate, one from another. *Vale.*

FINIS.